JUVENILE JUSTICE/Senate Substitute, Cloture

SUBJECT: Juvenile Justice Reform Act of 1999 . . . H.R. 1501. Lott motion to close debate on the Lott substitute amendment No. 1344.

ACTION: CLOTURE MOTION AGREED TO, 77-22

SYNOPSIS: As passed by the House, H.R. 1501, the Juvenile Justice Reform Act of 1999, will modernize Federal grant programs that give aid to State and local governments for juvenile law enforcement and juvenile crime prevention efforts, will strengthen Federal laws to hold juveniles accountable for crimes they commit, will enact measures to increase safety at schools, and will enact measures to limit the exposure of children to depictions of violence.

The Lott substitute amendment would enact the provisions of S. 254 as it passed the Senate (see vote No. 130). Unlike the underlying House bill, S. 254 would enact several new restrictions on the constitutional right to keep and bear arms.

On July 26, 1999, Senator Lott sent to the desk, for himself and others, a motion to close debate on the Lott substitute amendment.

NOTE: A three-fifths majority (60) vote is required to invoke cloture.

Other amendments and motions were pending at the time of the vote that filled all available parliamentary openings for offering amendments.

Those favoring the motion to invoke cloture contended:

Argument 1:

Opponents of new gun restrictions have already been given a full opportunity to present their case to the Senate. On some votes, they prevailed; on other votes, they lost. Now they want to re-fight that debate instead of letting this bill go to conference. We intend

(See other side) NOT VOTING (1) **YEAS (77)** NAYS (22) Republicans Republicans Republican **Democrats Democrats** Democrats (32 or 60%) (45 or 100%) (22 or 40%) (0 or 0%) **(1)** (0)Allard Voinovich-2 Abraham Lott Akaka Kennedy Brownback Ashcroft Lugar Kerrey Baucus Bennett Mack Bayh Kerry Bunning Bond McCain Biden Kohl Burns Chafee McConnell Bingaman Landrieu Campbell Cochran Murkowski Boxer Lautenberg Coverdell Collins Roberts Breaux Leahy Craig DeWine Roth Bryan Levin Crapo Enzi Domenici Byrd Lieberman Sessions Fitzgerald Smith, Gordon Cleland Lincoln Gramm Conrad Mikulski Grams Frist Snowe Gorton Specter Daschle Moynihan Grassley Gregg Stevens Dodd Murray Helms Reed Hutchinson Hagel Thompson Dorgan **EXPLANATION OF ABSENCE:** Hatch Thurmond Durbin Reid Hutchison **Jeffords** Robb Inhofe Warner Edwards 1—Official Business Feingold Rockefeller Kyl 2-Necessarily Absent Feinstein Sarbanes Nickles 3-Illness Graham Schumer Santorum 4-Other Harkin Torricelli Shelby Smith, Bob (I) Hollings Wellstone SYMBOLS: Wyden Inouve Thomas AY-Announced Yea Johnson AN-Announced Nav PY-Paired Yea PN-Paired Nay

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to stop them in that effort. The Senate was on the Juvenile Justice Bill for 2 full weeks in May. It conducted 32 rollcall votes and considered 38 amendments (18 Democratic amendments and 20 Republican amendments). The debate was fair, full, and balanced. There is no justification to have the same debate less than 2 months later. The Majority Leader was right to fill up the amendment tree on the House version of the Juvenile Justice bill in order to block amendments from being offered. We support cloture, and we support adoption of the pending Lott amendment.

Argument 2:

We oppose the restrictions on the constitutional right to keep and bear arms that are included in the Senate-passed Juvenile Justice Bill. We opposed them when they were adopted, and we oppose them now. However, we lost on those votes. We accept that loss and are ready to move the legislative process forward by going to conference with the House on the bill. In order to take that step we must first substitute the text of the Senate-passed version of the bill for the text of the House-passed version. The Lott amendment would make that substitution. We urge our colleagues to support this amendment by voting for cloture.

Those opposing the motion to invoke cloture contended:

Republicans who vote for this motion to invoke cloture are walking into a cynical trap that is being set by liberal Democrats for purely political purposes. It is extremely unlikely that this bill will become law. No matter what comes out of conference, the President will veto it and will say he vetoed it because it did not have enough new restrictions on gun ownership. He wants a political issue, and, if we send him a bill that has any new gun restrictions, he will get that issue.

The Clinton/Gore Administration has shown no interest in juvenile justice reform. It has had absolutely no involvement in the drafting of this legislation, and it has done absolutely nothing to advance the enactment of any of its core provisions. The only reason it has shown any interest at all is that the Senate added several new restrictions on the right to keep and bear arms after the shootings at Columbine High School. After those shootings, Vice President Gore made a great display of coming to the Senate to cast the tie-breaking vote to restrict the right of law-abiding Americans to purchase firearms at gun shows, and President Clinton, despicably, said that "the huge hunting and sport shooting culture in America" was to blame for the shootings. President Clinton did not talk about the valueless, degraded culture that has been created by the left. He did not talk about radical lawyers and teachers who have insisted on making obscene materials available in public schools, and who at the same time have insisted that the only book that should be banned is the Good Book; he did not talk about the celebration of deviancy and brutality that infests every media outlet; he did not talk about the dangers of the vast social experiment underway in America in which millions of parents only see their children in passing; he did not talk about people having to hide behind barricaded doors because liberals think of criminals as "victims of the system" who need to be helped rather than locked up. No, for President Clinton, "hunters and the sport shooting culture" are to blame for the killings at Columbine High School. People who use firearms lawfully, according to the President, must accept new restrictions on their right to keep and bear arms.

The House-passed bill did not impose new restrictions on law-abiding gun owners. It rejected such restrictions on a bipartisan vote. It will definitely not accept all of the Senate's new limits on firearms, and, if it accepts anything less, the President will have all the excuse he needs to veto the bill. He and his liberal allies will then use that veto to shift the blame for violence in America from the cultural rot of leftists to law-abiding gun owners. We plead with our colleagues not to walk into this trap. We ought to just kill this bill now rather than give the Clinton/Gore Administration a chance to veto it for crass political purposes.